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Democracy, vs. Democracy.

From the *Washington Federalist.*

To John F. Mercer, Governor of Maryland.

My anſwer to your handbill in reply to the one firſt iſſued by me, has neceſſarily been delayed, from the difficulty of obtaining documents for the elucidation of this ſubject. You admit, upon the face of your handbill, that Mr. Maſon has denied the allegation you made againſt me: with this admiſſion I ſhall leave this part of the ſubject. You ſay this information was communicated by you to others, and you could not but believe I had known and acquieſced under it—but remember, you ought not to judge that other gentlemen would be treacherous from the facility with which you yourſelf divulge confidential diſcloſures; whilſt you were communicating this to others under an injunction of ſecrecy, you wiſhed it to have all the effect of injuring me, without daring to give me the information, that I might have an opportunity of vindicating myſelf. The truth is, as the letters of Mr. Duckett and Mr. Diggs, will ſhew, that I was not acquainted with the nature of the accuſation; that ſo far as I was made acquainted with the expreſſions you had uſed towards me, I immediately demanded of you an explanation, which you refuſed to give, and it is certain I knew not your hoſtile diſpoſition towards me until I was informed by Mr. Diggs, (the evening before our interview in the council room) that you had that morning in a converſation ſpoke of me in a manner highly improper. Immediately upon receiving this information I called upon you, demanded the nature and extent of the charges againſt me, and whether your remarks were made from your own knowledge or from the information of ſome other perſon. I told you, that if it proceeded from yourſelf you would be conſidered by me reſponſible for your conduct; and if from the information of another, he ſhould be held reſponſible; and after being much preſſed by me, you finally obſerved, that you would leave the matter in diſpute to the members of the council—It was accordingly mentioned by yourſelf (the next morning) in the council chamber, as will appear by the letters of Mr. Duckett and Mr. Diggs already referred to—it was mentioned, I thought with a view and diſpoſition on your part to have a candid and amicable explanation and adjuſtment of the whole ſubject of your complaint and diſſatisfaction. I did not know at that time, nor did I ever underſtand until the 19th July, 1803, that you entertained ſuſpicions of the conduct you on that day ſo baſely charged me with.

It was certainly incumbent on you to diſcloſe to me, as you admit you have ſince done to others, (under injunctions of ſecrecy, I preſume;) the nature and extent of the charge; I ſhould then have thanked you for your candour, and would certainly have immediately taken ſteps to counteract the infamous calumny—But inſtead of your giving me this information, when called upon expreſsly by me, you behaved the next day in the council room as ſtated by Mr. Duckett. A reſpect for your ſtation, and not for your perſon, prevented me from taking that redreſs which my feelings at that time dictated. We parted, and I ſpoke my opinion of your conduct, and uſed, ſuch epithets as I tho't you merited, and ſuch as I hoped would force you to give me the explanation I had demanded of you, or compel you to carry the threats you had uſed in the council room into execution. My language towards you came to your knowledge, and ſoon afterwards I was applied to by Doctor Ghiſelin, who informed me, that you were willing that our diſpute ſhould be ſettled without any explanation from either; and it was at the entreaty of him and ſome other friends in ſome manner adjuſted, as will appear by the certificate of Doctor Ghiſelin, given at that time, with your privity and conſent. After this, I met you frequently in council, was invited to dine at your houſe, and I think I may add, received as many civilities from you as you did from me. At the late meeting in this county you however thought proper, for electioneering purpoſes, to come out publicly with a tale that you fondly hoped would ruin me forever: but ſir, you have I truſt been diſappointed. Not content with this, and finding from better inquiry your fond expectation could not be realized, eager in the purſuit of my deſtruction, at a ſubſequent public meeting you changed the nature of the accuſation, and in the phrenzy of diſappointment and grief, charged me with a crime, if poſſible, in turpitude greater than the former—but ſir, in this too you ſhall certainly be diſappointed—The annexed certificate of the hon. Samuel Ringgold will prove the truth of my ſtatement in a former handbill: Will you now have the effrontery to perſiſt in your charges againſt me? If you do, the world muſt believe, what ſome few individuals may ſtill doubt that you are the moſt unbluſhing calumniator in human ſhape.

Having ſubmitted my whole conduct in this tranſaction to public view, I hope there will be no further neceſſity of again intruding upon the public.

EDWARD HALL.

Auguſt 12, 1803.

SIR, Auguſt 9, 1803.

I had hoped, that in the controverſy between Governor Mercer and yourſelf no reference would have been made to any of the council for a ſtatement of facts. Indeed I do not know how far any circumſtances that have come within my knowledge may be relevant to the real diſpute between you. But agreeably to your requeſt, I ſhall ſtate as correctly as my memory will enable me, the ſubſtance of the converſation that paſſed between governor Mercer and yourſelf, which is referred to in his late handbill.

Sometime in the month of June, 1802, the governor mentioned that ſome irritating language had been uſed by him a few days before, when an order relative to the militia was under the conſideration of the council. Mr. Diggs and myſelf obſerved to the governor, that we thought he was under a wrong impreſſion; that we did not think you intended to be perſonal in any obſervations you had made on that ſubject. He replied, that he could not know the force of language if his idea was incorrect; but as the other gentlemen differed with him, he ſuppoſed he might be miſtaken.—You immediately obſerved, that it was very ſtrange that you could neither do nor ſay any thing but what he muſt take offence at it. This again brought on a warm diſpute between you, and the governor remarked, that you had treated him with great indignity, and that he would not ſubmit to it, and if perſiſted in he would 'make you toe your trig,' or expreſſions to that effect.—Your reply was, that he ought to know you better than to ſuppoſe threats of that kind were to have any effect on your conduct. In the courſe of this converſation, the governor ſaid, that he had heard within forty eight hours things diſgraceful and diſhonorable of you. You replied, that you could not help what he had heard, and if he would attend to what he might hear diſreſpectful of you, and with which you were unacquainted, it was impoſſible for you to prevent it. Governor Mercer, towards the cloſe of the converſation, remarked that ſuch a ſtate of things was very diſagreeable, and that he was willing to be on terms of friendſhip or at open hoſtility. Your reply was, that you ſhould never ſeek the one nor avoid the other. He then ſaid that he was inimical to you. Some days after this it was ſaid, that you had uſed ſome very harſh expreſſions reſpecting the governor, at a public dinner at Queen Anne. When you came to Annapolis I had converſation with you on the ſubject, and obſerved, that perhaps it would have been better for you to have demanded of the governor in the council room, at the time he made the charge, the nature of it and his authority for the obſervation. You replied that the reaſon why you did not call on him at that time was, that you had done ſo the day before the diſpute in the council room; that you had preſſed him to an explanation, but he had refuſed, by ſaying, that he was not at liberty to do ſo, as it would involve a third perſon. To this I remarked that the governor had told me that you had called on him at the government houſe in a paſſion, or in a very angry way, and that he might have ſatisfied you had you called upon him in a proper manner. You then aſked me, whether the governor had told me what it was? I replied that he had not.

This, ſir, is the ſubſtance of what took place in the council room, and I think it alſo ſtates correctly the ſubſequent converſation that I had with you on the ſubject.

Your Obt. Servt.

ALLEN B. DUCKETT.

Edward Hall, Eſq.

SIR, Annapolis, Aug. 10, 1803.

I have juſt received your's, and as I find it generally reported that governor Mercer communicated to me the ſubſtance of his charge againſt you, as ſtated in his certificate, and as you ſay an inference is drawn by ſome that I communicated the ſame to you, I ſee nothing improper, in complying with the requeſt contained in your letter to ſtate the particulars.

Sometime early in June, 1802, I was informed by Col. Mercer ſubſtantially (if not preciſely) what he has ſtated in his certificate, except that he did not mention to me his informant, but ſaid he had received this information from a gentleman the preceding evening at his own houſe. He requeſted me not to mention it, and it is certain I did not communicate it to you. In the ſame converſation the governor alſo complained very much of your general conduct and deportment towards him—ſaid that he ſhould not conceal his opinion of you—that it was very unfavorable, and that he was willing you ſhould know it. Immediately after this converſation I told you what had paſſed, except what is ſtated in his certificate, which I did not think myſelf at liberty to mention. You replied that you would have an interview with the governor, and the matter ſhould be explained, and the ſame evening you informed me that you had ſeen the governor alone at his own houſe, and warm and irritating language had enſued, and that the ſubject was to be mentioned next morning in the council chamber. It was mentioned by the governor, when a diſpute enſued, which according to my recollection is correctly ſtated in Mr. Duckett's letter to you, which you have encloſed to me.

I am with reſpect, ſir,

Your moſt Obt. &c.

FRANCIS DIGGES.

Edward Hall, Eſq.

I hereby certify, that Mr. Edward Hall made no conceſſions to governor Mercer on the ſettlement of their late differences, neither did the governor require any, on account of the expreſſions he underſtood were really made uſe of by Mr. Hall reſpecting him, at a public dinner at Queen Anne.

REVERDY GHISELIN.

Annapolis, Sept. 2, 1802.

In the month of January, 1800, Mr. Edward Hall, at Annapolis, requeſted me on my return to this place, to diſpoſe of a negro man belonging to his mother, who was confined in the jail of Waſhington county. The price fixed by Mr. Hall was 100l. deducting the amount of the ſheriff's fees, who at that time gave me a note to the ſheriff, directing him to deliver the negro to my order. On my return home, I determined to become the purchaſer of the negro myſelf, and ſometime in the month of March the ſheriff delivered the negro to my agent, on my order, immediately after which I wrote to Mr. Hall, informing him that I had determined to become the purchaſer of the negro, and that I would pay the balance due him which I ſtated to be about two hundred dollars to his order.—Sometime after I received a letter from Mr. Edward Hall, directing me to pay the ſum of two hundred dollars to Major Ignatius Taylor, of this county, on account of a bond due from the eſtate of his father to the eſtate of Mr. Thomas H. Hall. This I communicated to Major Taylor, who informed me he was not then authoriſed to receive it, as the debt had been transferred to Mr. Cooke, and, he believed, was ſettled. I never heard from or ſaw Mr. Edward Hall, or had any communication with him after this, until the meeting of the electors of the ſenate in September, 1801, when he aſked me if the money had been paid to Major Taylor, when I related to him, in ſubſtance as detailed above. Mr. Edward Hall then obſerved, he was ſorry Major Taylor had not received the money from me, as he always ſuppoſed that the money in my hands had been applied as he directed. Sometime after this, in the month of December, I paſſed my note to Mr. Hall for the above ſum, and ſhortly after paid it in full. SAM. RINGGOLD.

Fountain Rock, Auguſt 3, 1803.

For the VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

MR. DAVIS,

Alexandria, 22d July, 1802.

I have long been a ſubſcriber to your paper, and profeſſedly an Anti-Democrat; at the ſame time that I acknowledge myſelf to be a ſincere and ardent Republican. These opinions, appearing to ſome to be contradictory, have frequently involved me in controverſial converſation. In the efforts which I have made to explain myſelf, I have been unſucceſsful; because the impatient, half-informed, and ſelf convinced Demo. never would ſuffer me to begin a ſecond ſentence, before he would interfere. It was in him extreme forbearance if he would, *with quivering lips,* and half dejested ideas, wait until I had finiſhed the firſt.

While I was conſidering theſe things, and had almoſt determined to attempt to make an elucidation through your paper, the ANTI-DEMOCRAT, a paper publiſhed in Baltimore, has fallen into my hands. In this paper I have ſeen all that is neceſsary to be ſaid; and I will thank you if you will publiſh the whole extract, with this note, in your uſeful paper. By this I think you will not only ſerve the public, but will render a particular favor to an

OLD SUBSCRIBER.

From the Anti-Democrat.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U. STATES NOT A DEMOCRACY.

The readers of the *Anti-Democrat* are requeſted to recollect that, on the 29th June, we adverted to a publication in the Aurora of the 14th ultimo, in which it was aſſerted that "the Conſtitutions of the United States are complete and perfect democracies:" which opinion we endeavored, even in oppoſition to Mr. Duane, to diſprove.—On July 1, we began to publiſh, in a letter from a correſpondent, ſome opinions, in ſupport of our former aſſertion, on the eſſential qualities of a democracy. To that letter we beg the reader to refer; and we hope that, againſt Mr. D's arguments, drawn from *Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary,* from the *Baron Montesquieu,* and *from his own ware-houſe of wiſdom,* he will add ſuch authorities as will convince him that, *for once,* the Aurora, and thoſe who hold the ſame doctrines reſpecting our government, muſt, at leaſt be miſtaken.

Thoughts on the eſſential qualities of a Democracy; recommended to the ſerious conſideration of the ſober and thinking part of the community.

For the ANTI-DEMOCRAT.

The deepeſt thinker of all antiquity, after examining and comparing the theory and practice of upwards of two hundred commonwealths, the juſtly celebrated *Ariſtotle,* whom the great *Locke* acknowledged "*a maſter in politics,*" ſpeaking of the *different kinds of government,* obſerves, of the *republic,* that it is "*prone to degenerate into democracy.*"(*a*) Doctor Franklin, our countryman, who was certainly well read in human nature, held on this point the ſame opinion as the Stagirite. Being aſked by a lady of Philadelphia remarkable for wit and good ſenſe, on the diſſolution of the convention which framed the conſtitution—"well Doctor what have we got?" "A republic, Madam, if you can keep it." "And why not keep it?" rejoined the lady. "Becauſe," replied the Doctor, "the people on taſting this diſh, are always diſpoſed to eat more of it than does them good."

Sixteen years have not elapſed ſince this prophetic anſwer of the Doctor, and what do we behold! Men openly and voluntarily aſſuming the name of *Democrat,* and loudly proclaiming "*the conſtitution of the United States is a Democracy, the American governments are in every reſpect completely and perfectly Democracies,* and thoſe who will not ſo conſider them "*fools, deſpicable knaves, or impoſters.*"

Such is the dogma and language of the Aurora. (*b*) That it is in the contemplation of ſome men to convert our conſtitutions into democracies, may be fairly aſſumed; that progreſs has already been made in this work, certain recent acts too plainly

indicate; that it is meant to be persevered in, can scarcely be doubted.

"In order to introduce this form of policy, demagogues think that they never can strengthen the popular party; children descended from the intermarriages of citizens and strangers, all sorts of materials, however impure, are considered as proper aliment for such a government. Above all, demagogues must never cease to convince the people, that under their favorite democracy, they will be at liberty to live as they list. This will procure for them the assistance of the majority; for the greater part of mankind will always be better pleased to live licentiously, than to submit to the restraints of salutary discipline."(c)

Do you perceive any resemblance in this account of the practices of demagogues in remote ages, and which in *Athens*, according to *Xenophon*, "placed the bad citizens in a better situation than the good,"(d) to what is in practice in the United States? Ought we to flatter ourselves that practices which have been attended with so much success in other countries, will produce *no effect in this?*

It is a truth well established by experience, that there is in every constitution, or form of government, a part of it, which has a tendency to corruption, by means of which it will be sooner or later destroyed, as that part which sustains its political life, has more or less weight and energy.

From the origin of a republic, the democratic part of it, if not steadily watched and powerfully resisted, will continually gain ground. Demagogues rise and encourage the people to disregard, to change or destroy, as it suits their pleasure, fundamental institutions; "*to become managers of their own affairs, and act on every occasion as their own masters*"(e)—Thus stimulated and advised, *the majority is soon every thing and the laws nothing*; discontent, sedition, conspiracy, and revolution succeed revolution, till the republic (then a republic in name only) touches the last verge of existence, and falls, to be heard of no more, except, perhaps, in the annals of *Democratic History*.

As yet the people, under the constitution of the United States, have enjoyed more happiness, peace, and tranquility, than did any of the most ancient states of Greece. Whether this state of things is to continue; whether the *republic* is to maintain its ground, or to give place to a *democracy* and its consequences, is as it would seem, in a course of *experiment*. What lover of liberty can be indifferent? What respect for order, property, and life, can be composed, in such a crisis?

I proceed to shew, from the definitions of the most accredited lexicographers, and the highest authorities, among the moderns and ancients, that "*a right in the people to assemble collectively and enact laws, is of the essence of a democracy.*"

Mr. *Walker* in his Critical Pronouncing Dictionary (the authority quoted in the Aurora) defines democracy, "one of the three forms of government —that in which the *sovereign power, is lodged in the hands of the people.*"

Democracy, in *Johnson's* Dictionary, is defined—"One of the three forms of government, that in which the *sovereign power* is neither lodged in one man, nor in the nobles, but in the *collective body of the people.*"

The *Dictionaire Philosophique* defines democracy, "a species of government in which the *legislative power is exercised by the people.*"

In the *French Enciclopedie* democracy is defined—"One of the *simple* forms of government, in which the *people in a body possess the sovereign power.*—Every republic where the sovereignty resides in the people is a democracy."

I shall now produce authorities to ascertain what is here meant by *sovereign power.*

Montesquieu observes (*f*) "When the *body of the people* in a republic, are possessed of the *supreme power*, this is called a *democracy.*" *Libanius* says that "at Athens, a stranger who intermeddled in the *assemblies of the people* was punished with death; this man (Montesquieu remarks) because such a man usurped the rights of sovereignty.(g) Hence the sovereign power is the people *assembled*, not in the people individually.

The *French Enciclopedist*, under the article democracy, above quoted, as if to remove any cavil which might be raised, "Before we proceed further, it is necessary to remark, that in a *democracy* each citizen *does not possess the sovereign power*, nor even *a part of it*; this *power resides in the general assembly of the people.*"

Again Mr. *Hume* in his 3d Essay, says, "the constitution of the Roman Republic gave the *whole legislative power to the people* without allowing a negative voice either to the *nobility* or *consuls.* This unbounded power they possessed in a *collective*, not in a *representative body.*"

Thus we see, according to these definitions and illustrations, in a democracy, the sovereign power is in the people *collectively* or *assembled to enact laws*, and not in a part, or in the people *individually.*—Hence it follows, that, *the essence of a democracy, consists in a power to enact laws being lodged in the body of the people or the people collectively.*

In further proof of this point, I shall content myself for the present, with a few authorities chiefly drawn from the ancients.

Of the authorities derived from the ancients, they will be principally those which are relied upon by the *Abbe Barthelemi*, in his celebrated work, entitled the Travels of Anacharsis, the Younger, in Greece, more particular those which he quotes in his chapter "of the nature of government according to *Aristotle* and other *Philosophers*," and his chapter of "the present government of *Athens.*"

A right in the people collectively to enact laws, and try offences committed against the laws of the state, is of the essence of democracy. This is the position to be further illustrated.

It may not perhaps be improper, in this place to remark, that it is not meant to convey an idea, that the will of the people, in the enacting of laws, in a democracy, is expressed in one way only, or in an assembly where *all* are collected; this will may be ascertained by taking the votes of the people *seriatim*, or successively, in small collections, or tribes, as was sometimes practised in Athens, and other cities in Greece, the majority of the whole votes deciding.

Aristotle observes (*h*) "that all matters of deliberation should be decided by *all* the people is consonant to a *democracy*, but is susceptible of many variations; for *all the people* may be entitled to deliberate and decide either *collectively* or *successively.*"—Hence whether the votes or suffrages of all are given collectively or successively, still it is the majority of the votes of the whole that is to decide in the formation of laws.

Our knowledge and notions of democracy have their source in the ancient democracies, or what we find in ancient writers concerning them. All of modern date have had those for their model. To this source, therefore, we must apply for correct information, relative to their distinguishing characteristics and composition.

The general characteristics of democracy are thus described by Aristotle,

The *nature of democracy requires* that the *supreme authority of the government should reside*, not in the distinguished few but, *in the great body of the people.* (*i*) That all the offices of the magistracy, or at least the greatest part, should be conferred, by lot, on each individual. That *all the citizens* be *alternately distributed in the courts of justice.* That a senate be instituted to prepare those affairs which are finally to be determined on in the *national and sovereign assembly, at which all the citizens* may be present. (*k*)

For a particular case I shall select the celebrated Athenian democracy.

Solon determined that the *supreme power should reside* in the assemblies, at which *every citizen should have a right to be present*; and where all ordinances respecting peace, war, alliances, *laws*, imposts, and all the great interests of the state, should be finally decided. (*l*)

The assemblies were held in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market, or in a spacious place near the citadel named the Pnyx. (*m*)

Six thousand suffrages were requisite to give the force of law to several decrees. (*n*) It was not however at all times practicable, it seems, to obtain this number; for during the whole course of the Peloponnesian war, it was found impossible, to collect more than five thousand citizens in the general assembly. (*o*)

Herodotus says that Aristagoras, ambassador from the Ionians, found it harder to deceive one Spartan than thirty thousand Athenians; meaning, in a loose way, *the whole state supposed to be met in one popular assembly.* (*p*)

With respect to the Athenian *Courts of Justice.*

"The right of protecting innocence is not acquired at *Athens* by either birth or riches. As *all may be present at the assembly of the nation and decide on the interests of the state*, all are likewise entitled to give their suffrages in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals."(q)

There were ten tribunals at Athens, four for homicide, and six for other causes, as well criminal as civil.

These assemblies did not meet at the same time, with those of the people, being both composed nearly of the same persons.(r)

I do not take into view the areopagus, which was a perpetual body, nor the senate and archons, which were elected for one year, and aristocratic; nor the mode of distributing the citizens among the courts of justice, as particulars not of moment to the question. Those who may desire more particulars, will be amply gratified by consulting the Travels of Anacharsis, *the younger*, and Aristotle's Politics.

After this description, it is easy to see the noise, tumult, and confusion, that must prevail in democratic assemblies.

Plutarch in his life of Solon, relates that Anacharsis, after being present at an assembly of the Athenians, said, "he was astonished to see in their deliberations, that it was the *wise men* who spoke, and the *fools* who decided." In these assemblies, "sometimes they gave their suffrages by ballot, but oftener by holding up of hands, which is a sign of approbation. The plurality of suffrages once obtained, and the decree read a third time, without opposition, the presidents dismiss the assembly, which breaks up with the same noise and tumult as have prevailed during the whole course of the deliberations."(*s*)

"It is thither the orators repair, like so many chiefs of parties, now seconded by military officers, whose protection they have procured, and now attended by factious subalterns, whose fury they can moderate at pleasure. No sooner do they make their appearance in the lists, than they commence the attack by insults (*t*) which animate the multitude, or by strokes of pleasantry which transport them beyond themselves. Presently the clamors, the applauses, the bursts of laughter, (*u*) that arise from all sides, stifle the voice of the senators who preside at the assembly; of the guards stationed on every side to maintain order; (*v*) nay, even of the orator, (*w*) who sees his decree fall to the ground by the same paltry artifices that so often overthrow a dramatic piece at the theatre of Bacchus."

In the tribunals of justice at Athens things went on no better.

The temptation of gain renders the people assiduous at the tribunals as well as at the general assembly. Three oboli are distributed to each at every sitting, which trifling recompence forms an annual expenditure of the state of about one hundred and fifty talents, for the number of judges is prodigious, and amounts to about six thousand.(*x*)

So *Gillies* in his history of ancient Greece:—"The usual employment of six thousand Athenians consisted in deciding law suits, the profits of which afforded the principal resource of the poor citizens. Their legal fees amounted to one hundred and fifty talents, the bribes which they received sometimes exceeded that sum, and both united, formed a sixth of the Athenians revenue, even in the most flourishing times"

What was required, I have with candor and good faith accomplished. I have observed, our knowledge of democracies is derived from the ancients. To them have I appealed, and from them I have shewn, that *a right in the people collectively to enact laws by a majority of the voices is of the essence of a democracy.* I shall now close the discussion with a few observations.

Considering the unchangeable nature and incurable defects of this kind of government, with what attention and energy should every considerate man watch its approaches, and resist its introduction.—Is there any severity of comment, that might not with propriety be applied to those persons, who would persuade the people of the United States, *that they already live under a democracy*, that curse of republics, that volcano of licentiousness, that gulph of liberty, that prolific mother of faction, cruelty, injustice, sedition, revolution and tyranny.

Is the constitution of the United States a democracy? Examine it thoroughly!

The constitution is a compact. Try it by that compact. By it the people have no right to assemble collectively, either in sections, or in districts, or in detachments, for giving their votes to enact or make laws, respecting peace, war, alliances, imposts, commerce, or any of the other great national interests. They have no right to meet in assemblies for hearing of causes, and punishing criminals. They have *vested* in a few men, *all sovereign power*, the number and description of which, they can neither augment, nor change, nor diminish. They have vested in one man the executive power. They have vested the judiciary powers in men whom they do not choose, and who hold their offices during life, or good behaviour. They have likewise vested in few men, whom they do not choose, the rights of jurors. They have vested in the state legislatures, the right to appoint senators to congress. They have vested in congress and the state legislatures the right of proposing amendments or alterations in the constitutions; and in the state legislatures or conventions, the right of adopting or rejecting them. They have vested the *whole legislative authority of the nation in their state legislatures and in congress.* No *sovereign power*, therefore, remains to be exercised, or can be exercised by the people, successively, collectively, or individually

What are the rights which the people have reserved, or which they may lawfully exercise?

These rights are chiefly of the *elective kind.* To the people it belongs to elect a definite number of men, of a particular description, members of the house of representatives of congress. To the people it belongs to elect, the whole or part of the persons who elect senators to congress. To the people, or to the state legislatures, it belongs to elect the men, who elect the president. In the persons thus elected, and not in the people, is vested the sovereign or supreme power; from them, when exercising the legislative or executive functions, it flows in various acts, and by them only can it be *exercised.* The compact has settled these points. It leaves no sovereign power to be exercised by the people.(*y*) "The powers only not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, *are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.*"

It must be evident to those who will consider these facts coolly and impartially, that the constitution of the United States is far removed from a democracy. It refuses to exhibit its great characteristic. It is a republic which contains, as has been observed, a "*due mixture of the principles of different governments*, nicely poised and accurately adjusted, partaking only of democracy, as the *oval* partakes in its nature of *the circle.*"

Thus—In the singleness of the *executive*, we are to look for the *energy, secrecy, celerity* and *dispatch* of *monarchy.* In the *senate*, the wealth, the virtue, stability, experience and wisdom of *aristocracy.*—In the *house of representatives*, as the immediate choice of the people, the advantages of *democracy.* Add to this, that the elective principle pervades all parts of the constitution. It glows in the president, warms in the senate, and burns in the house of representatives. O people! is not this enough for the preservation of liberty, and security of property?—Will not more destroy both? And yet it would seem that some men anxiously desire more.

Let us pause, reflect, and hope, that the property, virtue and good sense of the community, *is to preponderate*, and the constitution *to be saved.* If it is to be their *opposites*, then must we experience *de facto* or *de jure*, a restless, factious, turbulent, tempestuous *democracy*, with all its concomitant evils and miseries; and then too, may the framers of the constitution, who yet survive, like another *Solon*, live to see their work destroyed, by another *Pisistratus.*

THE MIRROR.

(*a*) *Arist. de Rep. lib.* ii.
(*b*) *Aurora 13th June.*
(*c*) *Arist. de. Rep.*
(*d*) *Xenophon. Defence of the Athenian Democracy. I certainly have no intention of praising the people of Athens for choosing that particular form of government, (a democracy) since by choosing that form, they have consequently chosen to place the bad citizens in a better situation than the good. This, therefore, I certainly do not praise. But this I mean to shew, that having taken such a constitution, they have taken the best means to preserve it. What these means were, every one knows, who has read their history.*
(*e*) *Practiced at Athens. Demosth. passim.*
(*f*) *Spirit of Laws, book* ii. *chap.* 2.
(*g*) *Idem. book* ii *chap.* 2.
(*h*) *Arist. de Rep. lib.* iv.
(*i*) *Idem lib.* viii.
(*k*) *Idem. lib.* iv.
(*l*) *Plato in Solon.*
(*m*) *Thucyd.*
(*n*) *Demosth.*
(*o*) *Thucyd. lib.* xiii. *chap.* 72.
(*p*) *Idem. lib.* v.
(*q*) *Plut. in Solon.*
(*r*) *Abbe Barthelemi in Anacharsis.*
(*s*) *Aristoph. Acharn.* v. 24. *Plat. de Rep. lib.* vi. *t.* 2.
(*t*) *Aristoph. in Eccl. Esch. in Ctesph.*
(*u*) *Plat. de Rep. lib.* vi. *Demosth. de Falg.*
(*v*) *Aristoph. Demosth.*
(*w*) *Idem. in Acharn.*
(*x*) *Aristoph. in Vesp.*
(*y*) *It is not meant to be insinuated, by this exposition, that the people have in no case a right to change their government. They possess this right, but, as expressed in the constitution of Maryland, it is only "when the ends of goverment are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered," and all other means are ineffectual the people may and of right ought to reform the old, or establish a new government.*
(*z*) *Amendment to the constitution of the United States.*

Foreign Intelligence.

LONDON, July 13.

Intelligence of the 5th is said to have been received at Hamburgh, which states, that on the 3d a Convention was concluded at Lauenburg, by which General Walmoden has consented to the disarming of the Hanoverians—the privates to deliver up their arms, on condition of not being sent prisoners into France: the whole artillery of the army to be surrendered to the enemy, but the officers of description to retain their swords and other marks of rank.

Undoubtedly it is not a very strained supposition, that they who did not think it expedient to fight for their homes, would not fight for their swords. But the accounts we received yesterday, do not justify us in believing that the Hanoverians will suffer themselves to be disarmed quietly. General Walmoden's answer was, that since His Britannic Majesty had not ratified the convention of Schulingen, his Hanoverian army were not further bound by it, and would expend the last drop of their blood rather than submit to such conditions. The spirit of that answer would lead us to suppose, that the Hanoverians would take counsel only from their courage. The next intelligence from the Elbe will be of decisive importance.

Yesterday a half yearly General Court of the Proprietors of Bank Stock was held at the Bank, for the purpose of declaring a dividend. In the course of doing this, it became necessary for the Chairman of the Court of Directors to state the loss the company had sustained by Mr. Astlett. The actual loss he stated at about 320,000l. about 78,000l. has been employed in sources from which the directors think they will be able to recover, and they are determined to prosecute to that effect. On the part of the Directors, it was stated, that the loss by Mr. Astlett would make no alteration in the dividends. That loss amounted to nearly the entire dividends of the half year; but the affairs of the company were in so prosperous a state they would be able to divide as usual. The Chairman then proceeded to explain, that the Court of Directors were not to blame for the mal-practices of Mr. Astlett, who had succeeded in making away with the effects of the Bank, by interlining sums, and by calling out false sums when the property was regulated.—On this subject a very detailed and satisfactory explanation was given, in which the mode of doing the business was fully described. The Directors too relied on Mr. Astlett's character and long fidelity. Under all circumstances, it would have required a supernatural power to have at first detected him.

JULY 16.

It still seems doubtful whether the Hanoverians have made a new capitulation with the French, or persist in their resolution to defend themselves. We fear that they cannot long hold out. The situation of so many brave men is certainly very interesting to the feelings of every Englishman, at the present moment. Some reports state that the Emperor of Russia is very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the First Consul in attacking Hanover. If he has feelings of justice, or proper views of policy, he must resent such an outrage against the law of nations, and of that particular arrangement in Germany, of which he is one of the guarantees. The Court of Berlin, it is said, entertains the same feelings; but this is more doubtful.

A report that the Danish troops would assist the Hanoverians, in opposing the French crossing the Elbe, seems wholly destitute of truth.

The government of Hanover is now left to an Executive Commission of five Members, and the supreme power is exercised by General Mortier himself. A French Commissioner is to preside over this Commission, and to lay before it all the resolutions and orders of the Commander in Chief.

We learn, that the Russian Consul General at Venice has received a dispatch from his court stating it to be his sovereign's pleasure, that the Ionian flag, and the subjects of the Seven Islands, shall be placed under the protection of the Russian Agents and Consul, and that they shall enjoy the same privileges with his Russian subjects. Here then is a new, and indeed the only system of neutrality attempted to be established in the Mediterranean and Levant, which is evidently designed to favor the commerce of France, while it gives to Russia the right of exercising her interference, and extending her influence, in that quarter.

THE FRENCH ARMY.

A foreign officer of respectability, who within these last three months entered France by Nice, and left it by way of Flushing, gives the following particulars of the distribution of the French forces:

At Nice, (last April) 2000 regulars, and 800 National Guards.

At Toulon (7000 men had just embarked for the Colonies) 6000 reg. and 1800 Nat. Guards.

At Marseilles, 2500 reg. and 4000 Nat. Guards.

At Bordeaux 3000 Reg. and 5000 National Guards.

At La Rochelle, 2000 Reg. and 1000 National Guards.

At Rochefort [2000 Swiss troops were expected there, but they had mutined or deserted on the way] 1200 Reg. and 1000 Nat. Guards.

At Vannes, 2000 Reg. and 900 National Guards.

At Belleisle 3500 Reg. and 1000 Nat. Guards.

At Brest (last May) 500 invalid artillery men were there, besides, to attend different batteries at or near Brest, 8000 Reg. and 1500 Nat. Guards.

At L'Orient, 1500 Reg. and 1200 Nat. Guards.

At St. Malo, (a camp was ordered to be formed in its neighborhood for 16,000 men) 3000 Reg. and 1500 Nat. Guards.

At Cherbourg, 2000 Reg. and 1000 National Guards.

At Honfleur, 1200 Reg. and Nat. Guards.

At Havre, 2500 Reg. and 1600 Nat. Guards.

At Dieppe, 1200 Reg. and 900 Nat. Guards.

At Boulogne, 3000 Reg. and 1000 Nat. Guards.

At Calais 3500 Reg. and 1000 Nat. Guards.

At Gravelines, 1000 Reg. and 500 Nat. Guards.

At Dunkirk, 3000 Reg. and [illegible] Nat. Guards.
At Furnes (invalides) 300 Reg. and 400 Nat. Guards.
At Nieuport, 900 Reg. and 400 Nat. Guards.
At Ostend, 1600 Reg. and 800 Nat. Guards.
At Antwerp, 1200 Reg. and 3000 Nat. Guards.
At Flushing, 3000 Reg.

At Middleburgh (besides 1200 Dutch troops) in other places in Zealand, and the island of Walcheren, were 3000 French and 12000 Dutch—3000 Reg.

In Italy last March (besides these 10000 Italians of Bonaparte's republic were ordered to march) 40000 Reg.

In Switzerland, 12000 Reg.

In Daupheny, Provence and Languedoc, after a report, were only, besides National Guards, 16000 Reg.

On or near the coast, from Bordeaux to St. Maloes, 20000 Reg.

From St. Maloes to Honfleur, 10000 Reg.

In and round La Vende was a moveable column of 10000 Reg.

From Havre to Antwerp, not far from the coast, 24000 Reg.

In Brabant, at Brussels, or in its neighborhood, a moveable column on account of Bonaparte's journey of 1200 Reg.

Along, or near the Rhine, from Huningen to Cleves, were calculated to be at least 40000 Reg. [Those troops had orders to approach the Dutch frontiers, or to march towards the coast of Flanders.]

In Holland were 14000 Reg. besides 12000 Dutch troops were ready to enter Germany under gen. Dessoles.

In Hanover, or ordered to Hanover, 66000 Reg. Of these, 20000 were cavalry, dragoons, or hussars, to be remounted with Hanoverian horses.

In all the interior of France, few other troops than Gens d'Armes, invalids, and national guards, are to be seen, even in the fortified cities Besancon, Mentz, Thionville, Luxemburgh, and Nantes and the national guards, did the duty at the gates and on the ramparts: it is unnecessary to say, that by the national guard is meant, the *sedentary national guard* of each city, town or village, *which cannot be commanded upon duty from home*, but when the country is decreed to be in danger.

The number of Regulars falls much short of Bonaparte's boasted five hundred thousand men; but besides many thousands sent to the Colonies, a deficit in the army has lately been discovered, according to the Report of Superior Officers, amounting to upwards of Fifty thousand men, and that it required all the meanness and submission of Berthier, and all the Consul's former obligations to him, (besides present policy) to prevent his anger and fury from resenting it; as soon as the deficit is made up, it is expected Berthier must resign.

General Monnier, at Flushingen, said that *at no time Bonaparte had* 400,000 *men complete to dispose of.*

NORFOLK, August 30.

☞ Yesterday we received a regular file of *London* Papers to the 16th of *July*, from our correspondent in that city, by the ship *Kingston*, Captain *Stevens*, bound to City-Point.—We scarcely noticed European papers so barren of interesting news, which must be very mortifying to our *gaping* politicians.—We, notwithstanding, extract a few paragraphs.

LONDON, July 15.

The Paris and Brussel papers of the 10th inst. were received yesterday, the contents of which are not important; but the Hamburgh Mail contains some intelligence more material, which we shall give in our next.

The Hanoverian troops, it appears are determined to oppose the passage of the Elbe by the French troops, for the purpose of disarming them, and busily employed in taking such measures as are best calculated to give effect to their resistance. A letter, however, dated July 1st states, that Hanoverian deputies had set set out from Zell for Lauenburg, for the purpose of preventing the effusion of blood, and of endeavoring to make the Hanoverian troops voluntarily lay down their arms. A few days will shew the result, but we much fear, that in the present state of things, while the Northern Powers display so much apathy, and seem so little interested in the dispute between this country and France, that resistance on the part of the Hanoverians will be of little avail.

Whatever may be the case, it appears that his Imperial Majesty thinks it necessary to make an addition of 80,000 men to his army, recruiting for which has already commenced.

A private letter from Hamburgh states, that his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, and Field Marshall Mollendorff, are said to have made some very strong remonstrances against the present system of a certain Northern Court; to have spoken in very severe terms against the conduct of its ambassador at paris, and to have signified their intention of throwing up their commissions in case the same measures are persevered in. Though it is impossible to determine what credit is to be given to these reports, it seems that the discovery of some undue influence, used by a foreign power, has occasioned some confusion at the court alluded to.—The murder of a Russian courier from St. Petersburgh on his way to Vienna, who was robbed of his dispatches, though his money and valuable effects were left untouched, is presumed to have some connection with the above events.

Among the articles from Hamburgh, of a later date than those given in the subsequent part of our paper, we have to notice the following:

LUNEBURG, July 4.

Yesterday evening General Mortier, with his Staff, Citizen Rapp, and the Commissaire Ordonnateur Michaud went to Axilenburgh; they returned again this morning, which excited some pleasing hopes, but these were again soon diminished, by almost all the Generals again taking their way towards the Elbe.

To day the 48th demi brigade, consisting of about 2000 men, entered this town, where it will remain as a garrison till further orders. We continue in the most anxious expectation, as it is generally affirmed that our troops must either accept the French ultimatum, or prepare themselves for an immediate attack.

HAGUE, July 2.

On the 28th of June our Directory issued *Letters of Marque and Reprisals against English ships*, in which it is stated that the British Government having recalled its Minister at the Hague, who had departed without taking leave; and the same government having caused to be captured some richly laden ships belonging to the Republic, without any declaration of war, and issued commissions to privateers to take Batavian ships, the Directory is under the necessity of authorising reprisalals on English ships.

AMSTERDAM, July 2.

Three Dutch East India ships and 11 brigs have been taken by an English squadron, which is cruizing near Goree.

JULY 16.

Private letters from HAMBURG confirm in a great measure, what was stated in the German papers on the subject of *Hanover;* but with the addition, that a new Convention is said to have been proposed between Gen. MORTIER and the Hanoverian commanders in chief. The soldiers are to be disbanded without being sent prisoners to France; but to swear not to serve against that country during the war. The Officers are to keep their equipage, swords and honorary distinctions; the artillery, arms, and horses to be delivered up to the French. Great probability exists that the proposition will be acceded to as no successful resistance could be made by the Electoral troops.

The position of the Hanoverian army is represented as strong; they have plenty of artillery and ammunition, and an English commissary is said to be at their head quarters. The heavy baggage of the army has been sent to the fortress of Ratezburgh. There military chest is said to contain 5,000,000 of dollars. They are, however, in great want of provisions and forage, so that a number of beautiful horses perish for hunger, or must be shot. The men get, at their own ration, one pound of bread a day.

A Frenchman yesterday arrived at Lord Hawkesbury's office, whom we understand, was in the interest of Great Britain, and served in Hanover.

He made his escape from that country to Hamburgh, from whence he reached this country in an open boat.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, GUILDHALL.

Sitting Before Lord Alvanley.

SOCIETY OF ODD FELLOWS.

Lyon v. Martin and others.

This was an action to recover a compensation in damages for an assault committed on the plaintiff.

Mr. Shepherd observed, that a more ludicrous case had seldom come before the Court; yet, as no man's eccentricities are to be exercised to the injury of another, the plaintiff was justified in complaining of the gross assault he had received. The plaintiff was the most *Noble Grand* of a society denominating themselves *Odd Fellows.* The defendant, the *Lord Warren* of the same Society, whose dignified station promoted him to the office of *Candle Snuffer.* The Society was formed entirely of Jews, and met at the sign of the Bell, in Middlesex-street, Petticoat lane, but if they were always accustomed to such conduct as was witnessed on the night of the assault he had to complain of, they were *odd fellows* indeed, and should be pointed out in order to be shunned. In the midst of their mysterious proceedings, the Noble Grand moved, that a Trustee should be appointed to take care of their *Exchequer;* but as there did not appear to be more *funds* than were necessary to reimburse the landlord for expences incurred, the *Lord Warden* and the *Vice Grand* objected; an altercation ensued, the Noble Grand insisted it was his province to keep peace and harmony, but in his efforts to obtain his end, he got his head cut with a pot, and was laid senseless on the floor. A general confusion ensued, in which all distinctions were laid aside, and many a combatant was laid upon the floor of his club-room, to the great injury of the plaintiff and his companions, and the annoyance of the neighbourhood.

The affault was proved, and the plaintiff got a verdict for 20s. damages.

Thursday (July 14) there was a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Bank Stock, it being a General Quarterly Court, when it appeared that the defalcation occasioned by Mr. Astlett's misconduct, amount to 322,000*l.* That the Bank had redeemed 191,000*l.* in Exchequer Bills, by paying about 70,000*l.* for which Mr. Astlett had pawned Bills to that amount. The Meeting was very thin. It was, however, moved by a Proprietor, that the Directors should be answerable for the deficiency.—This circumstance produced a pause; when an adjournment being moved the Court broke up.

Death has of late made considerable havoc in the literary world of Germany, and deprived it of many of those great characters who had given celebrity to their country, and assigned it an honourable rank among the most enlightened nations of Europe.—Among those whose loss is of a very recent date, the name of GARVE makes a conspicuous figure.—This philosopher was equally remarkable for the beautiful propriety of his reflections, the charms of his eloquence, and the amenity of his deportment, Of all his countrymen, the harmony of his period, bears the nearest affinity to the Greeks, and, on that account, as well as for his manner of treating his moral subjects, he has justly been considered the Addison of Germany.

The return of Mr. KING, the American Ambassador, to his country, is connected with views of greater importance than have been generally known. The federalist party in America have determined on him as their Candidate for the Presidentship at the next election, when, of course, the contest will be between him and Mr. Jefferson.—The abilities displayed by Mr. King, while resident at this Court, together with his amiable and conciliatory disposition, authorise a belief that the Americans could not pitch upon one more likely to unite the jarring interests of both parties, and thereby render to both an essential service.

The Virginia Gazette.

—RICHMOND—

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1803.

RICHMOND PRICE CURRENT.

(Corrected Weekly.)

Tobacco,		34s6 *to* 42s *Cash.*
Wheat,		6s to 7s6 *do.*
Flour, Fine,	from old wheat,	33s *do.*
Do. Sup.	ditto.	36s *do.*
Do. do.	from new wheat,	42s *do*
Corn		13s6 *do.*
Hemp, Clean,		45*l* *to* 50*l do.*
Iron,		33*l do.*
Whiskey,		3s6*d do.*
Bacon,		8*d do.*

—PORT OF RICHMOND—

—ENTERED—

Sch'r.	Betsey, Mackey,	Norfolk.
Sloop	Sophia, Gray,	Ditto.
	Amity, Fall,	Philadelphia.

—CLEARED—

Sch'r.	Friendship, Denman,	Perth Amboy.
	Friendship, Potter,	Boston.
	Sally, Dickey,	Philadelphia.
	May Flower, Smith,	Ditto.
	Eliza, Webb,	New York.
Sloop	Almenia, Wilmour,	Ditto.
	Patty, Newton,	Philadelphia.
	Friendship, Atwood,	Philadelphia.

Arrived at City Point on Tuesday the 30th ult. the ship Kingston, Captain Stephens, in 35 days from London, with goods for Petersburg and this place.

Spoke, July 24th, lat. 48, 52, N. long. 12, 18, West, the ship Nancy, Captain Howland, 41 days from Charleston, bound to Hull. August 17th, lat. 44, 20, North, long. 51, West, spoke the ship Joseph of Portland, Captain James Nelson, 34 days from Hull, bound to New-York. August 20th, lat. 42, 6, N. long. 59, 30, W. spoke the ship Governor Strong, 56 days from London, bound to Alexandria.

The *sapient* and *candid* Editor of that eccentric paragon of insipidity, distinguished by the appellation of the "*Examiner,*" has thought proper in his paper of Saturday last, to occupy almost two columns, for the purpose of emitting his vindictive, malevolent venom against the Editor of this Gazette. Somniferous as his vanity may induce him to believe we are, he will never find us slumbering at our post. Conscious of the rectitude of our intentions—convinced of the purity of our motives—and alike interested in the welfare of the community, he will never find us shrinking, with *unmanly timidity,* from our editorial responsibility. The duty devolving on us, in a measure, to expose vice, folly and falsehood whenever they may present themselves for animadversion, shall always be performed with the most rigid fidelity;—while virtue, merit and truth, shall ever discover us to be their warm admirers and sincere advocates. We feel no propensity whatever to enter the field of controversy with any man, or set of men. We wish to live in peace and friendship with all mankind. Why, then, should the pseudo Editor of the catch-penny Examiner shew such an itching to compel us to enter the lists? The solution of this interrogation would be difficult. What advantage could result therefrom, either to the community, to him, or to us? Let us then forbear to recriminate; let us suppress the "retort courteous" or the "puff superlative."

Jones appears to be, or wishes to be thought, not only a wit, but a critic also. His attempts at the former are too puerile and stupid to attract attention; while his illiberal criticism on a supposed ingrammatical sentence, will sink into the unfathomable depths of merited oblivion.

This pseudo Editor of the catch-penny Examiner, apparently in a *terrible* rage, again throws the gauntlet of defiance, and boldly dares us to "specify *one* sentence of his ever having published falsehoods." To do him justice, he wields his weapon with unusual dexterity. To specify one instance wherein he has publish'd misrepresentations, would be an easy task; to particularize *every* instance wherein the supercilious columns of the Examiner have been polluted by disseminating misrepresentations, would be an Herculean undertaking. It is useless to throw water on coals when the spark is extinguished.

The paltry reasons which Jones assigns why the Federal Editors copy articles from the Virginia Gazette, are too trifling and contemptible to merit notice. But when Jones was giving reasons why the Federal Editors *did* copy from the Virginia Gazette, he should have had candor enough to give some reason why the Democratic Editors *do not* copy from the Examiner. The reason is obvious. Jones is satisfied that the Democratic Editors must have long discovered the contents of the Examiner to be deficient of merit, and as such, ought not to be noticed on account of its partiality for falsehood and calumny.

To be candid, Jones, I do confess, that I never pretended to any talent for writing—and even if my talents for writing were as much superior as my typographical knowledge is to yours, I should not continue a controversy where I could gain nothing. So you may write as much as you please, and whenever I may think it necessary to notice any of your petulant bickerings, I shall do so, whether *dared* to it or not.

In a London paper of the 16th July the French government are said to be in such distress for money, that they have offered the house of Hope & Co. at Amsterstam, 12 per cent to advance the 85 millions of livres which the United States have agreed to pay for Louisiana; but it has been declined under 13, and some say 15 per cent.

Spanish War.—Captain Ward, arrived at Boston, mentions, that at the time he sailed from Liverpool, a number of privateers, which had been for some time ready for sea, remained waiting to have their commissions enlarged so as to be authorized to capture Spanish, as well as Dutch and French vessels. Letters of marque and reprisal against Spanish vessels were momently expected to be granted, as the first consul would not consent to her neutrality, but had demanded the equipment of her fleet, which was, of course, commenced. The British had made arrangements for the blockade of Cadiz and Ferrol, and strengthened their naval force in the Mediterranean under Nelson.

FRENCH BILLS.

Extract of a letter from a merchant in London, to another in Salem, dated July 4.

"I am sorry to inform you, that your bills on the French government are not accepted, and probably will not be paid when due. In consequence of us being discovered that many bills had been drawn at St. Domingo (particularly to the order of A. Lindo) for which they say nothing had been furnished, the payment of them has been suspended. My friends at Paris, to whom I sent your bills to procure payment, inform me, that the French government requires almost endless formalities for the bills drawn at St. Domingo. The bearers of them must produce an authentic contract for the goods or supplies furnished, for which the bills were given, and a certificate of its execution to annex them to the bills. They advise those in whose favor the bills are drawn, to send with the contract and certificate a power of attorney in blank. You may have the contract (*le marche*) but under existing circumstances you will not, I fear, readily obtain a certificate of its execution."

FROM LATE LONDON PAPERS.

Every possible means are employed to render the war popular in France, and reconcile the soldiery to the perils which an hostile force would unavoidably have to encounter either from the elements or the British fleets, in any attempt to invade this country. A dialogue between a Frenchman and an Englishman, on the subject, appears in one of the late Paris Journals, obviously designed to do away those terrors which the vast superiority of the English Navy, coupled with the possible hostility of the elements, may be naturally supposed to give birth to. The Frenchman is made to sum up industriously every instance in which an invading force had succeeded in effecting a landing from the time of William II. to that of William III. without any obstruction from tempests or the British fleet.—These events in far other times are assumed as certain grounds of success on the present occasion. The state of the country, the dispositions of the people, and above all the enormous accessions to the naval power of this country, are left entirely out of the question. The first ship of the Royal Navy was built at Bristol in the reign of Henry VII. called the Great Harry, and destined for a voyage of discovery to the new world, and therefore the success of an attempt of invasion, when no Royal Navy existed, cannot justly be made the ground of well-founded expectation, when the British fleet sweeps the ocean.—The first attempt of an hostile force on the shores of Britain, after the naval power of England began to become formidable, was in the reign of Elizabeth. The fate of that expedition is well known. William III. effected a landing without opposition, but he had left Holland avowedly for the purpose of making a descent upon France, and having thus deceived the English Government, landed to the country, where he was received by the unanimous wishes of the people. Bonaparte contrived to elude the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and invaded Egypt, but the possession of the sea by the English and the bravery of English troops expelled his army thence: a fine army was sent to St. Domingo, and compelled, while the English fleet was neuter, to abandon it by the desperacy of the blacks. It is possible then, that any serious hopes of success can be entertained by the French Government, against a great population, determined to perish in defence of its Constitution and Rights; against the troops that beat its army out of Egypt, and a fleet that rides triumphant in every branch of the ocean.

The serum of the blood of oxen is used in Spain instead of size or glue, for mixing up the colouring matter in distemper painting; it resists the wet, and when the serum is fresh, is very durable.

For FREIGHT, *or* CHARTER,

The fast sailing American ship

KINGSTON,

JOB STEPHENS, master;

a new vessel, burthen about 400 hhds. Tobacco, now at City Point, and will be ready to take on board in ten days. For terms apply to *Robert & Allan Pollok & Co.* Richmond.

BUCHANAN & POLLOK.

Petersburg, 1st September, 1803.

Bonds due at the Custom-House, Richmond, in the month of September, become payable on the following days, viz.

Ship	Bellona,	Septemoer	6
do.	Hercules,	do.	12
do.	Alexander,	do.	14
do.	Re Union,	do.	20
Brig	Fame,	do.	10

September 1, 1803.

SALES AT AUCTION.

On Wednesday the 12th day of October next, WILL BE SOLD at PUBLIC AUCTION, at the Office of the subscriber,

ALL the remaining effects of James Thompson, Bankrupt, consisting of a quantity of LAMP-BLACK in hhds. and about 180 lbs. of TURKEY COTTON. *ALSO—*

A lot of ground, containing four acres more or less, lying at the Bowling Green, commonly known by the name of Du-Val's Village *ALSO—*

Five half acre lots in the vicinity of Richmond, known and denoted by the survey and plat made by Wm. G. Payne for Mr. Du Val—and No. 66, 88, 89, 90, 91. The titles will be made, and six months credit allowed the purchasers, on giving bond with approved security.

By order of the assignees.

THOMAS TAYLOR, Auctioneer.

September 5th, 1803. eptds.

For Sale,

That valuable Tract of Land, called

COLEMAN's NECK,

LYING in the county of Buckingham, on James River, about twenty miles below Lynchburg, and about seven miles above Bent Creek, containing 140 acres, of which there is about 50 acres of first rate of low grounds; and the high land equal to any on the River, with a good dwelling house and other houses —Also, 124 acres of back land, lying about one mile off, part of which is good Tobacco Land, and the whole is well timbered.—For terms apply to

LITTLE B. HUGHES,
on the premises.

August 14, 1803. 02w4wp.

A GENTLEMAN

OF liberal education and good morals, who is disposed to employ his time and talents in the instruction of youth, may receive advantageous proposals, upon application to the subscriber in Richmond, between the present date and the first of October next.

JOHN D. BLAIR.

July 8th, 1803.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FIFTH CIRCUIT
Virginia district.
May term, 1803.

James Hopkirk, surviving partner of Alexander Spiers, John Bowman and Company, Against Plaintiffs, Christopher McConnico and James Campbell, John Grayson and Conrade Webb, executors of Thomas Shore, deceased, and Andrew J. McConnico, Defendants, } In Chancery.

THE defendant Christopher McConnico not having entered his appearance and given security according to a rule of this Court, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the said defendant is not an inhabitant of this district: On the motion of the plaintiff by his counsel, *it is ordered*, that the said defendant do appear here on the first day of the next term & answer the plaintiff's bill: & that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some one of the newspapers published in the city of Richmond for two months successively, and posted up at the front door of the Capitol of the said city.

A Copy—Teste,

James Blagrove, D. C.

TO BE SOLD,

On the 1st October next, at the Eagle Tavern, the following Tracts of

Military Rights--to wit:

2038 Acres, (the patent by the president of the U. S.) in the name of G. F. Stras, assignee of Wm. Winslow, who was assignee of Benjamin Winslow, an ensign in the army of the U. S.

1000 Acres, a survey made for Peter Talbot, and assigned by general warranty by Wm. Radford, dec. to said G. F. Stras, lying on the west fork of Scioto.

666 2-3 Acres, a survey in the same predicament in every respect as the above. N. B. The above two surveys were received in payment in lieu of cash at 8s. for two houses and a piece of ground, where the family of the said Mr. Radford now reside; sold at a low price.

1000 Acres, being a survey, (as yet in the hands of Col. Richard Anderson) sold by general warranty and engagement to pay the expences of said survey, by Charles Copland, esq. to said G. F. Stras, the said Charles Copland being assignee of Charles Scott, (assignee of Charles Jones) the location being No. 694, N. W. O.

550, being an undivided moiety of 1100 acres, the whole purchased in the name of G. F. Stras, (by the president of the U. S.) the other half, or acre for acre, being claimed by promise from Mr. Chatham, said G. F. Stras' agent, to Mr. Wm. Little for having made the location and this survey of tract, by which circumstance the land is supposed to be very valuable.

400 Acres on Pittman's Creek, state of Kentucky, patented in the name of Robert Harvey, and purchased by G. F. Stras from Charles Copland, esq.

234 Acres, being No. 248, in the Illinois Grant, purchased in 1793, by said G. F. Stras, from capt. John Rogers, dec.

5883 2.3ds.

The terms of sale are, ¼ on the 1st of January 1804;—¼ on the 1st April;—¼ on the 1st of October following, and the last ¼ on the 1st of January 1805, payable in bonds, with approved security. For further particulars apply, for the first five Tracts, to Messrs. *Pickett, Pollard & Johnson*; for the two last, to Mr. *Charles Copland*.

July 30, 1803.

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30 Dollars Reward.

Ran away on Monday the 20th June last, a NEGRO GIRL, called

SALLY,

LATELY the property of Mr. William Robertson, of Manchester. She is a tall, spare, black Girl, about twenty years old, stoops much, has very short knotty hair, which she attempts to make longer by platting; her nose turns up and is very thick at the end. Davy and Peter Norton, in Richmond or Manchester, are her uncles, by whom it is probable she is harbored.—She is a good semstress.

I will give the above reward to any person who will secure her in Jail so that I get her again.

JOHN GILLIAM.

Prince George, near Petersburg, July 15, 1803.

NOTICE.

THE CELLS appropriated for Males in the Lunatic Hospital in Williamsburg being at present filled with patients, I am directed to notify the same, to avoid unnecessary expence in sending others until there may be vacant Cells to receive them, of which notice will be given.

W. Russell, C. C D.

Williamsburg, August 25, 1803. 3w.

Claret

FOR SALE.

THE subscriber has just received a Consignment of excellent CLARET, in *Cases*, containing 12 bottles each, which will be sold low for *Cash*, or *Country Produce*, at market rates.

ROBERT GAMBLE.

Richmond, July 21st, 1803.

HUNGARS PARISH,

IN the county of Northampton and state of Virginia, having become vacant by the death of the late Rector, Dr. McCroskey, the Vestry of the Parish, through their Church Wardens, have an opportunity of offering to a Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, this valuable Glebe.

This Glebe, to which is annexed 12 valuable slaves, contains 1600 acres of land; has been managed with a fostering hand by the late occupant, and will be found by his successor in a state of neatness and repair highly honorable to his taste and attention. The improvements consist of a good old fashioned brick dwelling house, with all necessary out-houses, in good repair--an excellent garden; with orchards of various fruits, of choice selections. The situation, on the waters of the Chesapeake, is airy and healthy, and in point of beauty and convenience, exceeded by few in the state. The best evidence which can be offered of its value, is the handsome profits which have arisen to its occupant, from its possession. This Glebe having accrued to the Parish under the devise of an individual, the vestry are bound by the terms of that devise to induct a minister within six months from the death of the late incumbent, which will be on or before the 20th day of October. In the mean time, they will be ready to hear all those who wish to become candidates.

Richard Dunton, *Nathaniel Holland*, } Church Wardens.

June 14, 1803. 3m.

NOTICE.

In the matter of HOOPER & TOLER, Bankrupts.

THE Commissioners named and authorised in and by a commission of bankruptcy awarded and issued, and now in prosecution against Thomas Hooper and Henry Toler, Merchants of the city of Richmond, trading under the firm of Hooper and Toler, intend to meet on Saturday, 29th day of October next, at their office in the city of Richmond, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in order to make a dividend of the estate and effects of the said Bankrupts, when and where the creditors, who have not already proved their debts under the said commission, are hereby required to come prepared to prove the same, or they will be excluded the benefit of the said dividend.

William Temple, Marcus Elcan, } Assignees.

Richmond, August 26, 1803.

N. B. The assignees have got in their possession the Books, Bonds, &c. belonging to the estate of Hooper and Toler, and request all those indebted to said concern to come forward & discharge their respective balances—or suits will without regard to persons, be instituted.

COMMITTED

TO this jail, an old NEGRO MAN, who says he belongs to Mathew Lee, of Prince George county. He appears to be about 60 years of age, has a bald head, and is about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high.—The owner is desired to prove his property, pay charges and take him away, or he will be dealt with according to law.

James Taylor, jailor.

Williamsburg, 20th July, 1803.

VALUABLE LANDS

FOR SALE,

On one, two and three years credit.

ON the third Monday in October next, being Amherst court day, the subscriber will offer to public sale, at the Court-House of Amherst county, on one, two and three years credit, that valuable TRACT OF LAND belonging to the estate of Charles Irving, deceased, and by his Will directed to be sold; lying on Piney River, in the county of Amherst, and containing by estimation two thousand two hundred acres. There is on this tract a considerable quantity of as rich Tobacco land as any in the upper country, added to a large body of flat or bottom lands on the River, excellently adapted to the cultivation of Corn, Wheat or Tobacco.

Its situation is as healthy as any whatever lying within eight miles of Amherst Court house, and within 18 or 20 miles of James River. It will easily admit of division into three separate tracts, between which, the cleared land may be nearly equally divided.

Mr. William Staples, who lives on the land, will shew it to any person who may be inclined to purchase; and there will be left with him an accurate plat shewing the situation of the whole tract, and also of the smaller tracts into which it may be divided. It will be sold entire, or in smaller tracts, as may be thought most advisable on the day of sale. Possession will be given the first day of January next. The intrinsic value of this land, its healthy situation, and the convenience of the payments, make it an object well worthy the attention of those who may wish to purchase lands. Bonds with approved security will be required, to carry interest from the date, if not punctually paid.

WM. H. CABELL,
for the Executors of CHARLES IRVING, dec'd.

August 22, 1803.

I have for SALE, at my Mill, near the city of Richmond,

PLAISTER OF PARIS,

IN the lump, or ground, ready for manure or plaister, which will be sold low, and a considerable deduction made to those who purchase by the large quantity.

RICHARD ADAMS.

August 12, 1803. 6mbs.

Notice is hereby given,

THAT pursuant to an act of the last Virginia Assembly for the establishment of a town at Amherst Courthouse, by the name of *Cabellsville*, the LOTS thereof, both improved and unimproved, will be exposed to public sale, on the third Monday of September next, being the 19th day of the month, on twelve months credit—the purchasers are to give bond with good and sufficient security for the payment of the money, and in case punctual payments are not made, interest will be required thereon from the day of sale.

Also, may be rented, the TAVERN, at the aforesaid place, for a year or a term of years. Suffice it to say, the houses are large and well calculated for public entertainment; stableage sufficient for upwards of 100 horses. Few places in the U. States offer more advantages to an enterprising character than this, and therefore well deserves the immediate attention of the active and industrious who possess funds adequate to its support

For terms apply to the subscriber, living in the lower end of Amherst, near the town of Warminster.

SAM. J. CABELL.

August 4, 1803. 4w.

LAND & NEGROES

FOR SALE.

On Tuesday the first day of November next, if fair, otherwise on the first fair day thereafter, will be sold, on the premises to the highest bidder, that valuable and highly improved seat, called

CLIFTON,

WHEREON I now reside, in the vicinity, and adjoining the town of New-Castle, in the county of Hanover, containing by an old survey three hundred acres, more or less, of high and flat land, under new enclosures, and commanding an extensive prospect of the town and surrounding country, on either side of the Pamunkey River.

The improvements consist of a two story dwelling house, with four rooms and a passage below, and 2 above stairs, with large and convenient closets, and a good cellar; together with the several attached and detached offices of every description, and an excellent garden, to which, for a number of years, the greatest attention has been directed.

The above, in the mean time, may be treated for at private sale.

At the same time and place, will be sold, about 20 valuable country born SLAVES; amongst them are some excellent house servants, cook, weaver, rough carpenter, and shoemaker, together with the crops of CORN, WHEAT, &c.—Household and Kitchen FURNITURE of every kind, stocks of HORSES, CATTLE, SHEEP and HOGS—Plantation and Farming UTENSILS.

The Land will be sold on a credit of 18 months, and the rest of the property at 12, for all sums above twenty dollars. Bond with approved security will be required, to carry interest from the day of sale. Application may be made to either of my sons at Petersburg or Richmond.

John Shore.

Clifton, August 18, 1803. 12wtiN.

NOTICE,

In the case of THOMAS E. PLEASANTS, *bankrupt.*

ALL persons indebted to the said Bankrupt are hereby requested not to pay the same to any person except the subscriber, who has been appointed assignee of his goods and effects, or Major John Quarles, his attorney, who is authorised to receive the same and grant receipts therefor. It is earnestly hoped that immediate payment will be made, either to the subscriber or Major Quarles, as no further indulgence can possibly be given.

AUSTIN D. LEAKE.

Richmond, August 25th, 1803. 3t.

STOLEN

Out of the subscriber's stable, on the night of the 21st April last, a

A BAY MARE,

ABOUT 14 hands high, and about 8 or 9 years old, has striped hoofs, with a few white hairs round one of the hind hoofs, a star in her forehead, intermixed with brown hairs. She is perhaps one of the fleetest nags for a quarter of a mile in this state; trots and gallops remarkably well, and carries her tail very strait. A reward of twenty dollars will be given for delivering the said Mare to me, living in Essex county, or for such information as she be obtained; and on conviction of the thief, and recovery of the Mare, fifty dollars.

JOSEPH BOHANNAN.

Essex county, June 24, 1803. 3mp

NOTICE.

THE business heretofore carried on in this place, under the signature of GEORGE YUILLE & Co. will in future be conducted under that of JAMES F. LEITCH & Co. who are empowered to receive the debts due to

George Yuille & Co.

Manchester, August 27th, 1803. 2w.

JUST PUBLISHED,

AND ready for delivery, a BOOK, containing 304 pages of the choicest HYMNS and SPIRITUAL SONGS now extant. The Hymns are selected from the most approved authors, and adapted to the different modes of Divine Worship. The Spiritual Songs contained in our late publication are comprized in this; also, a number entirely *new*, together with some selected from pamphlets lately published in *North* and *South Carolina*, and in *Baltimore*. The whole have been carefully revised and corrected by the Rev. JOHN COURTNEY, of the city of Richmond.—Purchasers will find the price of this book much lower than any work of the kind heretofore published.

Copies of the above books may be obtained from the Rev. Mr. Courtney, from Mr. W. Potter, Bookbinder, and from either of the publishers.

John Dixon.
John Courtney, Jr.

Richmond, July 20, 1803.

Ten Dollars Reward.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber, on Sunday the 21st instant,

JOHN,

a likely black man, 20 or 22 years of age: he is well made, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high. He has lived some time with a baker, and formerly lived with Mr. Michael Myers of this city. Had on when he went off, osnaburgs shirt and overalls, and a short Virginia cloth waistcoat; but as he made free with some of my money, and three oval silver plates with screws marked with the letter G. off my carriage, it is probable he may have bought others. All persons are cautioned against concealing him, and all masters of vessels from taking him from this place, or any other. The above reward will be paid on delivering him to the jailor, if taken in this county; and if in any other county, *Twenty Dollars*.

J. Gunn.

Henrico, August 31, 1803.

Will be sold, at public vendue, on Tuesday the 18th day of October next, pursuant to the last Will of Joseph Gloss, deceased, a very valuable

PLANTATION,

FIVE miles S. W. of Winchester. This tract contains about 400 acres, is fertile, healthy and beautifully situated. There is on the premises a valuable mill seat, with 29 feet fall, immediately on the great road leading from Winchester to Marlbro' Iron Works. The stream is composed chiefly by the junction of several never failing springs that rise on the premises, two of which are covenient to the dwelling house, and of an excellent quality. The mill-pond will be most happily situated for a fishery. There is a good orchard, and a large quantity of meadow. An indisputable title will be made, and possession given the first day of April, 1804. The sale to be on the premises.

Robert Gloss, *Ex'or.*

August 12, 1803. 3t.

NOTICE.

THERE will be a PETITION presented to the next General Assembly for a law to pass to authorize John Barnett to build Locks from his Mill Race to Deep Water on Dan River, below his Mill, and to enable him to take toll for the passage of boats when done.

August 27, 1803.

Ten Dollars Reward.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber in Petersburg, in Dinwiddie county, about a month ago, a Negro Man named JACK,

of a yellow black, about 40 years old, of the middle size, speaks but bad English, stoops a little when he walks, and has a remarkable small lump a little below one of his ears; he was seen working as a labourer with a brick layer in Richmond last week, where he is well acquainted. He is a good painter and glazer, a good gardner and ditcher, a good butcher, and a most excellent manager of horses and driver of any sort of carriage; well skilled in sowing any sort of small grain, and a very good hand on board a boat or craft. I will pay TEN DOLLARS to any person who will put him in jail, so that I get him again: and all masters of vessels and boats are forbid employing him or carrying him out of the state, under the most severe penalty of the law.

JOHN BAIRD.

August 9, 1803. ep3w.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Henrico, May 30th, 1803.

NOTICE is hereby given, that there is a sum of money at command, belonging to the estate of Reuben George, deceased, late of Caroline county, which I am willing to pay as far as it will go to any persons who may have just and legal demands against the estate: And notice is also given, that I propose to render an account of my administration to the court of Caroline, which will sit in October next, or as soon afterwards as circumstances will authorise, at which time I propose to give up all the assets which may be in my hands in such manner as the court have and may direct: And notice is also given, that this advertisement will be plead in bar to any claim or demand which at any time hereafter may be set up against me, as administrator of the aforesaid estate.

REUBEN GEORGE, Adm'r.
of Reuben George, dec.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber, on Sunday night, the 21st inst. a NEGRO MAN, named

ROGER,

about 40 years of age, stout made, but small legs for the bulk of his body, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high. He has a scar on one of his arms, occasioned by an axe, and a small scar on his forehead. He is of a yellowish complexion, is remarkably pert and sensible—and has a smiling countenance, when spoken to. He had on when he went away, a white yarn Virginia cloth coat, and Osnaburgs shirt and overalls. I expect he will endeavor to pass for a freeman, and endeavor to get to the Northward, as he once before made the like attempt. I forewarn all persons from employing or harbouring him, and all masters of vessels of taking him on board, as the rigour of the law will be exercised against such.

I will give the above reward to any person that will deliver said fellow to me, living about 3 miles below Richmond,

Robert Craddock.

August 23, 1803. 4tp

HUGH J. CRAWFORD

HAS JUST RECEIVED,

Per the ship Ritson, from London, and now offers for sale, at his Medicine Store, a general assortment of

Paints, Perfumery, Medicine, &c.

THE whole of which were selected with particular attention by himself, and will be found fresh and of a superior quality. Having purchased them with money, he is enabled to dispose of them at reduced prices for Cash, or on a short credit to punctual customers.

Richmond, Feb. 8, 1803. oawtf